

The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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TRUTH ABOUT WAGE-EARNING
WOMEN

SUFFRAGE DOCTRINE OF
IRRESPONSIBILITY

THE FAILURE OF SUFFRAGE IN
GREAT CHICAGO TEST

"IF THE WOMEN REALLY
WANTED IT"

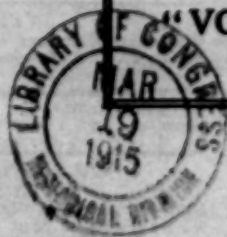
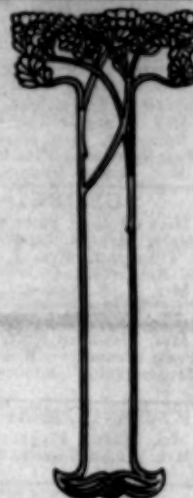
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EDUCATION"

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"VOTES CAN RIGHT NO WRONG"

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THE TRUTH ABOUT WAGE-EARNING WOMEN

THE often repeated misstatement of the Suffragists that there are 8,000,000 wage-earning women who need the ballot for their protection has been corrected time after time, both in the PROTEST and by our speakers from the platform. But the statement still persists, for some reason or other, either because the suffrage brain is impervious to facts or else Suffragists do not regard facts as essential elements in a controversy.

We are driven to the necessity therefore of putting these facts in such a form that the veriest child can understand them and even a Suffragist may not escape them.

A PRIMER

Question—How many women are employed in the U. S.?

Answer—There are 8,075,772 women ten years of age and over employed in gainful pursuits according to the last census.

Question—Are they all wage-earning women?

Answer—No; there are only 5,607,600 women, or about 69 per cent. of those gainfully employed who work for wages.

Question—How are the other 31 per cent. employed?

Answer—About 13 per cent. are business women who own their own business and employ other women, or they are professional women, i. e., doctors, lawyers, ministers, teachers, artists, etc.; 18 per cent. are agricultural workers who are at work on home farms of their brothers, fathers, sons or husbands and are not paid wages.

Question—How many of these wage-earners are employed in factories, stores, laundries, hotels or in occupations generally covered by labor laws?

Answer—There are 2,646,329, or less than one-third of all women employed.

Question—Would the ballot in the hands of these women benefit them?

Answer—No. They would be hopelessly in the minority even if they all could and would vote.

Question—How many of these are of voting age?

Answer—1,266,559, or 15.6 per cent. of all women gainfully employed.

Question—Has the ballot in the hands of women ever benefited the laws for working women?

Answer—No. The best laws are to be found in male-suffrage States.

Question—Will the ballot in women's hands raise the wages of working women?

Answer—No. The wages of women have not been raised in the States where women vote, and women's wages in these States are no higher in comparison with the wages of men than in male-suffrage States.

Question—How many women are employed in domestic service where their employers are women?

Answer—2,530,846, or 45.1 per cent. of all wage-earners, are domestic servants, laundresses in private homes or are engaged in other occupations of a domestic character.

Question—Would not women's vote improve the conditions in laundries and like places of employment?

Answer—No. Even if the vote could improve conditions there, the majority of women would not vote to that end. There are only 79,000 women employed in laundries, but there are 546,000 women, or nearly seven times as many, laundresses employed in private families where women could raise their wages and diminish their hours of toil without recourse to the ballot if they desired to do so.

These facts can be verified by reference to the Census Reports, Vol. 4, 1910.

THE SUFFRAGIST DOCTRINE OF IRRESPONSIBILITY

FOR fear that what we are about to quote may appear inconceivable to people of common sense, we wish to say that it appeared in the "Special Suffrage Campaign Issue" of the *Evening Post*, New York, Thursday, Feb. 25, 1915, column one, section two, and was signed in capital letters: "By DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association."

Perhaps Dr. Shaw did not write it.

Perhaps she did not mean it.

Perhaps she may, upon second thought, wish to deny it.

But the facts are as stated.

And this President and biggest figure in the woman suffrage agitation declared over her signature in public print:

"I believe in woman suffrage whether all women vote or no women vote; whether all women vote right or all women vote wrong; whether women will love their husbands after they vote or forsake them; whether they will neglect their children or never have any children."

In introducing this astounding statement, Dr. Shaw declared: "I believe I speak for the thousands of women belonging to the National Association."

The principle upon which the Suffragists appeal is thus reduced to its simplest elements. In effect, they say: "It is nothing to us what effect the vote will have upon society or democracy if the State enfranchises a thousand people when only a hundred desire the privilege."

"We do not care what becomes of the country through adding an unwieldy mass of voters unfamiliar with political fundamentals."

"It is a matter of complete indifference to us if the majority, or all, of the new electorate votes against the best interests of the people as a whole."

"We are entirely irresponsible. What if whole families are disrupted and the social fabric shattered by the social revolution of which the vote is the entering wedge."

"What of the fact that women will vainly seek to accomplish through legislation what can only be brought about through thoughtful and constant home training? What care we if women abandon home life for the public spot light? Why should we trouble ourselves about what becomes of the neglected children?"

"Give us the vote!"

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The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

PEACE OR POLITICS

THOSE who are opposed to woman suffrage are criticized by the Suffragists for their unwillingness to join the newly formed Woman's Peace Party. On this account we wish to make a statement in behalf of the thousands of women whom we represent on this question. Many of us are members of existing Peace Societies which welcome the co-operation of women as members, and we consider the formation of a woman's peace organization not only superfluous but unwise, as without the guidance and political experience of men its counsels could not hope to establish the right ideas as to the relationship of nations. In addition we consider the policy adopted an unfair one for the women of this country, the majority of whom are undoubtedly anti-suffragists or non-suffragists.

It seems to the opponents of woman suffrage as if politics, not peace, were the first object of this new organization started by Suffragists, with suffrage officers, a suffrage plank in its platform and an obvious preamble which states that even those who can not subscribe to all the planks are welcome. Is it not politics instead of peace when one Suffragist calls this Woman's Peace Party a suffrage organization with peace tacked on, when another states that the suffrage plank was introduced with the idea of helping the cause of suffrage, when a third announces at a public meeting that no members are desired unless they will subscribe to all the planks, as they are all vital, and another Suffragist frankly admits that through the preamble they expect to get members who are opposed to suffrage, and then by showing how well organized they are to convert them to suffrage? Efforts to promote permanent peace are foremost in the thought of the civilized world to-day and it is only natural that women who have not considered both sides of the suffrage question might join enthusiastically this new Woman's Peace Party and learn later that by their enrollment they had aided the politics of woman suffrage rather than any movement for peace. Therefore, in fairness to the anti-suffragists and non-suffragists this statement is necessary.

The latest cry of the Suffragists that if women had had the ballot for the past forty years there would now be no war shows an amazing capacity for ignoring the lessons of history on questions of international relations. If men have been unable to ballot out the bullet and the bully, how shall women hope to be able to accomplish this result?

We Anti-Suffragists believe that the war spirit cannot be eradicated by legislation. The abolition of war must come through educating the people to a higher spiritual sense. Admiral Mahan wrote in a letter to a friend last September: "I have no quarrel with any method that will minimize the occurrence of war, but I have much quarrel with the charlatanism that ignores facts, and bases statements as confident as they are absurd upon misrepresentation. At present, and probably for several years—perhaps a generation—the suffering and social disturbance attending this war will disincline people to a renewal. But the grass will grow over the graves, the troubles be partly forgotten, and new causes of offense will cause new wars until the spirits of men undergo a change. The human heart, acting upon sentiments and interests, is the cause of war. No methods can avoid it except as they deal with the inner man."

The coming generation, the children of to-day, must be trained against warfare, and must be taught the ideals of peace and justice while they are young. This training is virtually in the hands of women as mothers and teachers.

We believe that only widely convinced public opinion can bring about a rational political reconstruction of the world which will eventually relieve civilization from the menace of more wars, and that women, free from partisan strife, can more effectually influence public opinion without the use of the ballot. Because the Woman's Peace Party insists upon the extension of the franchise to women as a fundamental plank in its platform, we, who place the teaching of the ideals of Peace above any political propaganda, find it impossible to subscribe to the platform of that party.

An experienced diplomat, W. Morgan Shuster, says in the *Century Magazine*, February, 1915: "When, however, the education of a nation's citizens shall have so progressed that the most sensitive nerve in its collective body shall be the one leading to the national conscience and honor, war, for that nation, will be relegated to its only proper place—the supreme recourse of a peace-loving, but outraged, people."

"Consciously or otherwise, every existing system of education or training for the individual in relation to his state tends to exalt physical force. Tradition and history fill him with the thrills of conquest and military glory, but say nothing of the ethics of his nation's actions. Patriotism—love of country—is directed into higher and more beneficial channels than the achievement of military success and power."

"Yet it should not be impossible to enlist its wonderful emotional appeal on the side of humanity and justice. A new conception of it—love of justice before love of self—might be taught in all the schools."

Writing in *The Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1915, Mr. Bertrand Russell says:

"If a better and saner world is to grow out of the horror of futile carnage, men must learn to find their nation's glory in the victory of reason over brute instincts, and to feel the true patriotism which demands that our country should deserve admiration rather than extort fear. If this lesson can be taught to all, beginning with the children in the schools, we may hope for a lasting peace, and the machinery for securing it will grow out of the universal desire."

Failure of Suffrage in Great Chicago Test

BY MRS. GEORGE P. WHITE

Chairman of the Organizing Committee, Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

THREE years ago, the voters of Chicago were asked to decide at a primary election the question of giving votes to women. The measure was defeated by a majority of 73,000, but notwithstanding the popular disapproval, a group of influential women who wanted woman suffrage went to Springfield, the State capital, and formed a "lady lobby," which, with the assistance of all the wives of "indirect influence," as the Feminists call it, finally got the Legislature to grant partial suffrage to women in 1913.

Since the grant of partial woman suffrage, Illinois, and more especially Chicago, has become a political proving ground in regard to the success or failure of the feminine franchise. This is due to two important conditions: First, Illinois is the only State where the women's votes are separately counted and their effect readily available for comparative study; and, second, Illinois is the only State giving more than school or taxation suffrage to women that approaches the great Eastern commonwealths of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Massachusetts in the complexity of its governmental and social problems.

The Mayor of Chicago is conceded to occupy the third most important executive position in the United States, the President, and the Mayor of New York being the only individual officials who bear a burden of greater direct responsibility. At the recent primaries in Chicago, the women were allowed to vote for the mayoralty candidates for the first time they have been chosen since women were partially enfranchised. A year ago, the women voted for aldermanic candidates. Several women ran at that time, one on a reform ticket against "Bathhouse John," but they were defeated, the women oddly enough, giving more of their votes to the Hon. "Bathhouse" than to his feminine opponent.

Last September the women made a remarkably poor showing at the primaries, which the Suffragists excused on the ground that they did not want to "take sides" as partisans. In November the vote was light, and the Feminists apologized by saying that the women had no chance to vote for the "more important" offices on account of their partial suffrage.

But last week the women voters of Chicago had a chance to wield the balance of power in choosing the third most responsible official in America—no excuses for what they did, or did not do, can be made convincing.

Mayor Harrison, one of the Democratic candidates, is credited with having done "everything humanly possible" to make Chicago a clean, well-ordered city. For twelve years he has fulfilled his duties efficiently, winning the endorsement of the highest representatives of his own party, and becoming especially a powerful friend and advocate of woman suffrage.

Against him Mr. Robert M. Sweitzer, who was alleged to represent the interests of a pro-German, as well as a "wide open town" group, got the nomination, and over 54,000 women's votes, while the Mayor received but 34,000 feminine ballots. Immediately after the election Mayor Harrison declared that: "Apparently the women want a wide open town."

Without supplement, this might seem but the embittered utterance of a defeated candidate, but a news dispatch from Chicago gives the views of the suffrage leaders themselves, as follows:

Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, Superintendent of Schools: "I always

knew that if women got into politics you never could tell what they would do. They are worse than men. I shall not be surprised if the 35,000 women who voted for Olson (Republican candidate) will vote for Sweitzer in the election because they think it will be the winning side. Don't talk to me about women." This is a terrible indictment of woman suffrage, coming from a woman who is a conceded leader in the movement. Had an "anti" presumed to say anything of the sort in print or public, the "cause" would call us unenviable names for the next ten years.

Again, let us consider the Republican candidates. Judge Olson was the representative of reform and efficiency. His opponent, William Hale Thompson, was alleged to represent "Lorimerism" and reaction. Judge Olson was a favorite with the women who stood for better "public housekeeping." But Thompson got the nomination, with nearly 26,000 women's votes deciding a close contest. Mrs. William Frederick Crower, a leading Chicago Suffragist, said: "Women are apt to do anything. William Hale Thompson got a lot of votes because his sister gave a tea. Women like to see other women's homes, you know."

Mrs. E. L. Stillman, of the State Suffrage Board, said:

"I guess the women got what they wanted. They voted for a wide open town and now I guess they will get it. I think it is terrible."

Among the items of interest in this connection, we learn that Alderman "Hinky Dink," a political partner of "Bathhouse John," secured more of the women's votes than his "reform" opponent. Also, "Barney Grogan," a saloonkeeper who had his license revoked only a few days previously on serious charges, not only got the overwhelming majority of the women's votes, but was actually required to flee from a "kissing bee," *a la* Hero Hobson, when his feminine friends learned of his success. Then, too, "Al" Russell, the saloonkeeper who was selected by the aid of a "want ad" in preference to a banker, a physician, a clergyman, a machinist and a teamster, as a preferred "woman's candidate," triumphed in the nomination along with the other "wide open town" candidates.

The facts about the Chicago election do not constitute an indictment against womanhood, but impressively demonstrate the failure of woman suffrage. This is better understood with the aid of a few facts and figures. Based on the census figures of 1910, and the 3.7 per cent. increase a year in adult population for the last ten years, Chicago had, on January 1, 1915, 804,000 men and 725,000 women over 21; which, of course, represents the maximum possible vote. For the recent primaries, 437,000 men registered and 312,000 men voted. At the same time, 218,712 women registered and 156,000 voted. These figures are the nearest obtainable, and the recounts, etc., will not alter them enough to change the percentage beyond decimals.

From these figures, and by the way, we believe that this is the first time all of them have been assembled for comparison, we find that of the persons who registered, the same proportion, 71 per cent. of both the men and the women voted. This is a coincidence of little value, however. But compared with the total electorate, the men cast 39 per cent. of their possible vote, while the women cast but 21.5 per cent. of what their maximum might have been under ideal citizenship. Again, though the

census tells us that there are but 111 men to every 100 women in Chicago, just 200 men to every 100 women voted. Of course, the women could not have polled an equal vote at best, but had they been as interested in politics as the men they would have had a registration of 394,000, and a vote of 281,000, instead of what they got. As it was, we see that of the total adult population, about four men in every ten, and one woman in every five, actually cast ballots, but that even had the same proportion of women voted, they would still have been outnumbered, only not so much.

At once you will note the loophole through which the apologists for the "cause" will attempt to climb—the election was "beyond their control" because the men outnumbered them. All right then, if women cannot get anything away from the men by votes that they cannot obtain by easier agencies—of what use is woman suffrage? But then we note that the women were indeed a "balance of power" that was heralded before the election as able to practically decide the candidates in each of the rival parties. A glance at the figures will prove that, as a matter of fact, the women might have nominated Olson and Harrison, instead of Thompson and Sweitzer, but the women's votes were just as venal, just as corrupt, just as prone to favor the "wide open" elements as the men were. In other words, it cannot be maintained that the one woman in every five who will vote is actually a superior citizen, or that she can represent the ideals and the interests of her sex any better, or quite so well, as they are represented by the undivided civic conscience of women out of politics, and the votes of their husbands, fathers, sons and brothers at the polls. The 21.5 per cent. of the woman electorate who voted were strictly under the control and leadership of the Suffragists, if we may believe them. They cannot escape responsibility for the way in which Chicago women voted.

Of course, we will hear now of some coincident civic improvement in Chicago that will be ascribed to "votes for women" as a blind to avoid "answering the antis" on this grave fundamental question: Has not Chicago proved woman suffrage a failure? For example, Chicago Suffragists for the last year have been crying that, "as soon as women get the vote, there

will be a change for the better in the garbage situation." As a matter of fact, there was a change. But the head of the Board of Health declares over his signature that "votes for women" had nothing to do with it, and that the purchase of a municipal plant was fostered and executed by the Board at the very earliest possible moment, i.e., upon the expiration of existing contracts for garbage removal.

A news dispatch informs us that the proportion of deserted wives has remarkably decreased in the last three years in Chicago, due to the Municipal Court and the Domestic Relations Department, and that more money has been secured from the husbands. The problem of wife desertion is one of our most distressing social questions. The Feminists, we believe, are encouraging its practice by teaching men that women should be "self-supporting," and have "economic independence," and that the State will care for any women they neglect. As Chicago holds the municipal world's record for crime, divorce and wife-desertion, it would be quite welcome to learn that its fame for the last, at least, is lessening. Judge Olson and Mayor Harrison seem both to have helped "civilize Chicago" out of the "wild and woolly" condition it was in ten years ago—it was a rendezvous for all that is possible to associate with the words "wide open" at that time—but it must be a sore disappointment to them to learn that the women who would vote cast their ballots against the very improvements in civic conditions that constituted one of their strongest pleas for the vote in 1913.

"Chicago is corrupt—its majority doesn't really represent the public opinion against suffrage," the leaders said then. "Give women the vote and they will clean it up."

With women voting, "corrupt Chicago"—or that part of the municipality they accused of defeating "votes for women," becomes the sole beneficiary of woman suffrage.

"I guess the women got what they want," is not true. They got what some women—controlled by Suffragists—forced them to take—the Bathhouse Johns, the Barney Grogans and the Hinky Dinks.

What a lesson to New York, Philadelphia, and Boston to keep a "long, long way from woman suffrage" for municipal safety and civic improvement!

"IF THE WOMEN REALLY WANTED IT"

(From a New Hampshire Daily, January, 1915)

A MORE promising effort than usual is afoot to secure woman suffrage at the present legislative session. A bill granting all women over twenty-one years of age who are citizens of the state the same right as men to vote in municipal and presidential elections has passed the Senate by a good majority. The prediction is that it will pass the House also and become law. This bill confers equal suffrage on women so far as it can be done by statute. The right to vote at Freeman's meeting would have to come by constitutional amendment. Both the pro- and anti-suffragists among women have been seen and heard at the capitol. Keen interest attaches to the disposition of the matter by the House. From solid opposition to the idea of equal suffrage itself, many men have receded to the point where they would willingly grant it if convinced that the women, represented by a majority of them, really wanted it. The argument that this does not matter—if any woman doesn't want to vote it is no reason why another who wants to should be refused—doesn't quite satisfy such men. They know the practical side of politics and they foresee all women virtually dragged out of their homes and compelled to take part whether it is their wish or not in order to carry through candidates and policies for whom their votes are needed. That is just what would hap-

pen, with the resultant strain and burden on women. So these men feel that all the women have an interest in the matter, a right to be heard and to determine it as a question of their own. A good way to ascertain the sentiment among them is that employed by Representative Wilson of Chelsea, who sent postal card inquiries to all the women of his town. Of 254 replies received, 91 favored suffrage and 163 were opposed to it. Of the 91 in favor, 19 are taxpayers and of the 163 not in favor 79 pay taxes. With such a showing, the Representative from Chelsea can have no doubt of the sentiment among those most concerned.

A Chicago Suffragist claiming a right to practice the "single standard" of morality "just like a man," insisted that she could vote, fight or drink as well as a man in a Kentucky saloon. When the policeman notified her that she had been "pinched" like a man, and would have to appear in court, she promptly fainted. That troublesome "elimination of sex" seems still to hamper Suffragist desire. Not the least significant part of this unfortunate affair is the fact that the Suffragist's husband has resigned an important executive position with a railway, feeling himself disgraced in his associates' eyes.

"WELCOME A CAMPAIGN OF SUFFRAGE EDUCATION"

UNDER the heading "Welcome a Campaign of Suffrage Education," the Auburn (N. Y.) *Advertiser* said editorially on February 16, 1915:

The expressions on the suffrage question from a prominent pastor and the superintendent of schools, contributed to the *New York Times*, form a valuable index of one school of thought in this city. Undoubtedly this school is much larger than would appear on the surface, judging by discussions in the public prints, which of late have been almost wholly devoted to the side of the Suffragists. It may be assumed that a considerable number of citizens, men and women, share in greater or less degree the opinions expressed by Doctor Dulles and Mr. Hervey. Then why not give more frequent expression to them? Why do the Antis not take a more prominent part in the "campaign of education" that is being conducted, so far largely by the Suffragists?

The question as to whether New York State is to have equal suffrage is to be decided by the people next fall. The proximity of a decision on this great question, now only a little more than eight months away, is hardly appreciated by the public as yet, apparently. It is time those opposed woke up to the fact that if a definite campaign of publicity is to take place it must soon begin. The time is short, and the people no doubt will be found anxious to hear both sides.

The contributions to the *Times*, it is interesting to note, follow an editorial in that paper which was roundly denounced by the Suffragists. It must be admitted that, so far, they have seemed less disposed to discuss the merits of the editorial than to ridicule it and scoff at it. The *Tribune*, for instance—a paper committed unequivocally to woman suffrage—calls names and cartoons the *Times* as a toothless grandfather. To revile and call someone who differs "an old granny" is obviously not argument. The Suffragists on their part probably are making a mistake in not taking up the *Times's* arguments and answering them categorically.

But the tenor of suffrage and anti-suffrage talk has been much on this order. We hear a great deal about what the ballot

in the hands of women is going to accomplish, through the medium of legislation; whereas it is a well-known fact that there is already a superfluity of legislation. The ills of society are not to be cured in this manner. In fact, one of the strongest arguments against suffrage, as meeting the familiar promise of relief, is that voiced the other day by Helen Kent, who wrote:

"Apropos of Susan B. Anthony's birthday, one fact is of interest in our day. The pitiful conditions of her time—no higher education for women, unequal and unjust property laws, etc.—she was convinced could not be cured except by suffrage for women. In our happier era these conditions have passed away—are ancient history—but they were not brought about by women's votes."

This is a fact, of course, which cannot be gainsaid. The abuses and restrictions of which Miss Anthony complained no longer exist. Yet it is a fact that in not a single eastern State has the ballot as yet been extended to women, with the possible exception of a limited suffrage in Illinois. On the other hand, the Suffragists must be given credit for an agitation which unquestionably has done much to work the change. Their continuous agitation undoubtedly has broken down many of the prejudices of Miss Anthony's day against women doing certain things or having certain privileges.

To this the Anti-Suffragists will make answer, of course, that in that case it is clearly shown that women, by the influence they exert upon men voters, can obtain everything they desire without recourse to the ballot.

It is arguments of this caliber which merit and should receive attention, and which must be put forth and considered, if at all, between now and next November, when the constitutional amendment is to be voted upon. They are arguments which appeal to the reason rather than the imagination. It is sincerely to be hoped that no stone will be left unturned by either side in presenting the case to the voters as at present constituted, so that an intelligent majority may pass on this all-important question.

"SUFFRAGE IS NO LONGER A DEBATABLE QUESTION"

"SUFFRAGE is no longer a debatable question," the public is informed by a leading Suffragist.

"A debate gives the Anti-Suffragists a dignity that is not theirs by right," declares another Suffrage leader.

These two statements seem to indicate that the Suffragists dare not face the facts. It is undoubtedly true that plausible fallacies and emotional appeals are much more effective when the facts are not brought out by the other side.

This determination to avoid debate is a sure sign of the fragile foundation upon which the suffrage appeal is erected. Perhaps the decision was also influenced by the fact that the Anti-Suffragists win most of the debates!

As long ago as last summer Miss Lucy Price, an anti-suffrage speaker, issued a challenge to the Suffragists of Nebraska only to be told by the president of the State Suffrage organization that the question is not debatable. Miss Marjorie Dorman about the same time issued a direct challenge to Miss Jeanette Rankin or any other suffrage speaker in Montana. A dead silence ensued, a silence unbroken until October 6th, when Mrs. Antoinette Funk made this startling statement: "I don't know one of them (the Eastern Antis) that ever accepted a challenge for debate, for they know that their position cannot be maintained."

The latest development is equally startling. The facts are briefly:

In Brooklyn, N. Y., a debate arranged by the City Club was turned into an anti-suffrage meeting (Feb. 16, 1915), because no suffrage speaker could be found to maintain that side of the debate. The Woman Suffrage Party through its Executive Secretary stated: "If the other side is to be represented by a man speaker, we shall be glad to send you one of our best speakers, otherwise we must decline. * * * We consider that such a debate (between women) gives to the Anti-Suffragists a dignity which is not theirs by right."

This can mean but one thing. The Suffragists frequently defeated at the hands of the anti-suffrage women, appear to believe that men will be easier to defeat. Can this be for any other reason than because it is, at the present time, impossible for a man to debate against a woman, even if she is a Suffragist, and, forgetting that she is a woman, carry on the debate as man to man? We put this up to anti-suffrage men to answer and they declared the Suffragists do not allow them to forget this difference.

No sooner had this refusal to debate appeared than, on February 18, Miss Elsie MacKenzie, a Suffragist speaker, rises in meeting to remark that "Anti-Suffragists no longer will debate with Suffragists," which is one way of putting it.

THE STATUTE OF TESTAMENTARY GUARDIANS

IT appears to be the practice of the Suffragists, persistently and with intent, to misconstrue and pervert the meaning of American laws to their own interest.

No case is more significant of this intent and practice than the suffrage photo-play, "Your Girl and Mine," produced in many cities under the auspices of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The plot of this play is based upon alleged laws unfavorable to women, "laws" which have no harmful effect except upon the imagination of the Suffragists.

This kind of practice is doubtless an evidence of that "purification of politics" of which Suffragists speak.

In this play it is declared that a child may be willed away from its mother by a dissolute father, such as the one depicted in the play. There is no law preventing a man from expressing such a desire in his will. Likewise any mother can will her surviving children to be buried alive with her in any State of the Union. But the rational mind has no fear that the courts will permit wills derogatory to the children to be carried into effect.

The Suffragists in their mad endeavor to find laws "discriminating against women" have gone back to the statute of Testamentary Guardians passed by the British Parliament in 1660 which gave to the father, for the best interests of the child and his estate, the privilege of appointing a guardian who had charge of all his interests. If the father failed to make such an appointment, the courts did so.

Coming down through the centuries as a part of the common law, gradual modifications and interpretations have altered its effect materially. Provisions relating to it have been put upon the state laws in this country in recent years.

The District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has had an examination made of the laws of every State in the Union upon this subject and they are printed herewith. The statement explains itself, but it must be remembered that in every case the matter comes before the courts for final settlement.

Alabama—Father cannot appoint testamentary guardian to child under 14 other than the mother. (2 Code, Sec. 4340.)

Arizona—Father may only appoint with written consent of mother; mother may appoint absolutely to her illegitimate child; and either parent may appoint after death of other. (1 Code, 1118.)

Arkansas—Surviving parent may appoint. (Sand. and H. Dig., Sec. 3574.)

California—Either surviving parent may appoint; father may only appoint for legitimate child with written consent of mother. (Civ. Code, Sec. 241.)

Colorado—Surviving mother may appoint. (M. Anno. Stat., Sec. 2090.)

Connecticut—No testamentary guardian permitted. (1 Swift, Dig. 48.)

Delaware—Father may appoint when there is just ground for doing so. (Rev. Code c. 96.)

District of Columbia—If either parent dies, natural guardianship devolves upon survivor; and testamentary guardianship may be constituted (except of married female infant) by either surviving parent. (Code Secs. 1123-4.)

Florida—Father may appoint subject to strict responsibility of guardianship. (Gen. Stat. 2603.)

Georgia—Father cannot appoint for child under age of 3; and surviving mother may appoint. (Payne v. Payne, 39 Ga. 174 and 2 Code, Sec. 2515.)

Idaho—Surviving parent may appoint. (Stats. Sec. 5781.)

Illinois—Surviving parent may appoint. (S. & C. Rev. Stat. c. 64.)

Iowa—No such disposition permitted. (*In re O'Connell*, 102 Iowa 355.)

Kansas—Father can appoint no such guardian. (Mod. Woodmen v. Hester, 66 Kans. 129.)

Kentucky—Father may appoint any competent person, preferably mother. (C. K. Stat., Sec. 2016.)

Louisiana—Testamentary appointment is unauthorized. (Suc. of Le Blanc, 55 So. 672.)

Maine—Father may appoint; so may mother, if widow. (Rev. Stat. 617.)

Maryland—Mother having custody after divorce, father cannot make testamentary appointment; and appointment of mother instead of person named in will of putative father will not be set aside in accordance with father's wishes (*Hill v. Hill*, 49 Md. 450 and *Ramsay v. Thompson*, 71 Md. 315), and surviving mother may appoint. (Code Art. 93.)

Massachusetts—Surviving mother may appoint. (Pub. Stat. c. 139.)

Michigan—Mother must consent, unless unfit, or appointment void. (*Ohrns vs. Woodward*, 134 Mich. 596.)

Minnesota—Either father or mother may appoint with written consent of, or after death of other. (Gen. Stat., Sec. 7428.)

Mississippi—While mother living, father's appointment null and void. (*Campbell v. Mansfield*, 61 So. 593.)

Missouri—Father cannot make such appointment. (*DeJarnett v. Harper*, 45 Mo. App. 415.)

Montana—Without mother's consent, father's appointment null and void. (C. Code, Sec. 335.)

Nebraska—Surviving parent may appoint. (C. Stat. 3222.)

Nevada—Mother may appoint after divorce; and surviving parent may appoint. (C. Laws, Sec. 571.)

New Hampshire—Mother becomes sole guardian absolutely after father's death. (Pub. Stat. S. 444.)

New Jersey—Unless mother consents in writing with two witnesses, father's appointment null and void; surviving mother may appoint. (2 Gen. Stat. 1616.)

New Mexico—Either parent may appoint by deed or will. (C. Laws, Sec. 1439.)

New York—As against mother, father's appointment null and void. (*Kellogg et al. v. Burdick*, 187 N. Y. 355.)

North Carolina—Surviving mother may appoint. (Code, Sec. 1562.)

North Dakota—Without mother's consent, father's appointment null and void. (R. Codes, Sec. 2812.)

Ohio—Surviving parent may appoint. (Bts. An. Stat. 6266.)

Oklahoma—Mother remaining unmarried absolutely entitled to guardianship. (R. Laws 6530.)

Oregon—Father's appointment during mother's life is null and void; mother, being survivor, may appoint; and mother may absolutely appoint after divorce, having custody of children. (2 Code, Sec. 5264.)

Pennsylvania—Mother may appoint though father is alive if he be profligate; and father cannot appoint if he has neglected his family. (Pur. Dig. 1083.)

Rhode Island—Surviving mother, remaining unmarried, may appoint; and father's appointee may be removed for cause. (G. Stat. c. 154 and *Phillips v. McPhillips*, 9 R. I. 536.)

South Carolina—Either surviving parent may dispose by will; and either may dispose by deed with written consent of other. (1 Code, Sec. 3783.)

South Dakota—Mother may absolutely appoint for illegitimate child; without written consent of mother, father's appointment for legitimate child is null and void; and either surviving parent may appoint. (2 An. Stat., Sec. 3549.)

Tennessee—Surviving mother preferred; mother entitled to, if abandoned; otherwise father may appoint. (Code Secs. 3356, 3355 and 3362.)

Texas—At father's death, mother made absolute guardian. (Harris v. Petty, 66 Tex. 514.)

Utah—Without written consent of mother, father's appointment is null and void; and either surviving parent may appoint. (C. Laws, Sec. 3984.)

Vermont—After father's decease, mother may have custody and care of minor if competent; otherwise father may appoint. (P. Stat. 3155-6.)

Virginia—Mother may appoint testamentary guardian as well as father, when father is dead, of course. (Code, Sec. 2595.)

Washington—Upon father's decease, mother made absolute

guardian if competent; otherwise father may appoint. (R. & B. An. C. and S. 1629.)

West Virginia—Father cannot make testamentary disposition. (S. ex rel. Neider v. Reuff, 29 W. Va. 751.)

Wisconsin—If fit person, mother's right cannot be defeated; and women may appoint guardian. (Ramsay v. Ramsay, 20 Wis. 507 and Otjen v. Frobach, 134 N. W. 832.)

Wyoming—Mother absolutely entitled to guardianship on father's decease. (C. Stat., Sec. 5739.)

In Canada it has also been held that father cannot make such appointment. (6 Grant, Ch. (U. C.) 632.)

A FEW SIGNIFICANT FIGURES SIDE BY SIDE

TO the Editor of THE PROTEST—
In the issue of the New York Evening Post, February 25th, the statement was made at least twice that in 49 per cent. of these United States woman suffrage prevails; hence why not in the other half. Does it?

So far as public information goes, this country of ours is not a stock company. Our real estate holdings, either as individuals or as States, have little influence on politics apart from the people they represent. We as a nation are still committed to a democracy. A fact taught in even elementary civics classes has evidently been overlooked by your correspondents in the heat of the argument—area does not vote!

It is quite hard for those in the east with their ideas of congested population to form even a vague notion of the sparsely settled States where suffrage prevails. A few figures side by side may give us some definite notions. The figures are those of the last federal census of 1910.

The combined population of the Suffrage States and Alaska is 13,892,416. The population of Continental United States including Alaska is 91,972,266. This makes the suffrage vote 14.79 per cent.—hardly half! Taking the congressional representation, 68 out of 436 from the same area, the result is the same, 15 per cent.—hardly half. Certainly in no organization does the vote of 15 per cent. of its members carry any measure.

We in New Jersey like to think in terms of New Jersey. Considering the Suffrage States that have been added to the column in 1914, it is interesting to note that the combined population of Nevada and Montana is not quite as great as the population of Essex County, New Jersey. Here are the figures:

Montana	376,053	Essex County	512,886
Nevada	81,875		
	457,928		

After subtracting Nevada and Montana there would be more than enough left for Orange and Montclair.

Take two other Suffrage States, Utah and Wyoming. Their combined popula-

tion does not equal that of Hudson County, New Jersey.

Utah	373,351	Hudson	
Wyoming	145,965	County	537,231
	519,316		

Take Wyoming alone. Not so many people there as in Paterson and Montclair together.

Nevada has not nearly as many people as our own Trenton—enough left over in Trenton to form another Harrison, New Jersey.

Nevada	81,875	Trenton	96,815
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Arizona has fewer inhabitants than Jersey City.

Or Idaho. This State is made much of in suffrage writings. It is one of the oldest Suffrage States. Its inhabitants are not so numerous as those of Jersey City and Hoboken combined. Its population could be replaced from these two and have enough left for a place the size of Morristown.

Idaho	325,594	Jersey City	267,779
		Hoboken	70,324
			338,103

Colorado is about equal to Hudson, Union and Middlesex Counties.

Colorado	799,024	Hudson	
		County	537,231
		Union County	140,197
		Middlesex	
		County	114,426
			791,854

Colorado is also about the size of Newark and its suburbs.

Oregon is about equal to Essex and Union Counties in population.

Oregon	672,765	Hudson	
		County	537,231
		Union County	140,197
			677,428

New Durham could be spared from the total and leave enough for Oregon.

California with its miles of coast line and its wonderfully varied climate has not nearly as many people as New Jersey. In fact, all the inhabitants of California and all those of Wyoming transplanted to New Jersey and one town the size of West Orange would still need to be given a population.

California	2,377,549	New Jersey	2,537,167
Wyoming	145,965		
	2,523,514		

Alaska has a few more people than Bayonne and not quite so many as Elizabeth. Utah, Idaho and Montana are each about the size of Newark alone. The States of Washington and Kansas together have a population a little more than all New Jersey put together, while Illinois in spite of its size, and I might add its noise in the political world lately, has just about twice the population of our little State, third from the little end in area, but mighty in deeds and men.

Look at it another way. Everyone can understand that congressional representation is based upon numbers. The representatives from Colorado are 4, from Idaho 2, from Nevada 1, from Oregon 3, total 12. New Jersey has 12 representatives. In other words it takes five Suffrage States to balance in the House of Representatives the little State of New Jersey. Again must this truth force itself home: Area does not vote.

To grasp if possible a bird's-eye view of suffrage numbers think of the people in the State of New York and New Jersey, add the inhabitants of Philadelphia, Baltimore and New Haven, and one has the Suffrage total. Certainly not half the people of the Union—and area never votes.

While numbers are engaging the attention, it might be well to examine the numbers of the adherents of women suffrage in New Jersey. They now claim a membership of 40,000. Granted that these are all women. There are in New Jersey 1,250,704 women. This makes our suffrage friends number about three per cent. of the women of our commonwealth. Thirty-two thousandths, to be exact, of the women of New Jersey are demanding the vote, and this after twenty years of agitation. Shall a noisy minority force upon New Jersey women the burden of the franchise?

CLARA VICKROY BALCH,

Chairman, Press Committee, Montclair Branch, New Jersey Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

Coercion vs. Character —A Study of Methods

(From Boston Transcript.)

"**E**MOTIONAL excitement served out to the women of Massachusetts by the Equal Suffrage League in the talks given by Rose Livingston" was considered by Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, who spoke this afternoon at a meeting of the Public Interests' League of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Association at its headquarters, 685 Boylston Street.

"Reports from New York about Miss Livingston, who once lived in Chinatown," said Mrs. Putnam, "indicate that her talk is 'unfortunate, as it unquestionably gives the wrong impression of conditions.' There is nothing new in her story. All that she says is as old as human passion. It is evident, moreover, from her remarks about conditions in Boston, that she is likely to make statements without knowledge of facts. It seems strange that any respectable organization should be willing to take advantage of the ignorance of most of the 'sheltered' women who compose the audiences to which Miss Livingston speaks, to present to them the idea that immorality lies in legislation controlled by the ballot box, and that if women were only allowed to vote they could abolish human passion.

"In Denver, where women have voted for more than twenty years, the social evil is said by Dr. Helen Sumner, herself a suffragist, to be 'more brazenly open' and more extensive than in most other cities. In Seattle, in a woman suffrage State, the 'red-light' district, suppressed for a time, has sprung up again, more flourishing than ever.

"Has the experience of the world led us to place credence in the ability to control human passion from without? Has it ever been effectively so controlled? Such control is at best but temporary, for passion restrained against the will breaks out again the moment coercion is removed. Only from within can passion be held in check and turned to noble uses. The blame for the hideous conditions which flourish in the underworld belongs to women primarily. Every man has a mother, almost every man is brought up by a woman. The women of the world have it in their hands indeed so to conquer evil that it shall cease to charm, by bringing up their sons and daughters to knowledge and understanding of the laws that govern life, by making it possible for them always to associate human passion with purity, the purity of motherhood, the sacredness of home."

The Status of Suffrage in Different States

WE are asked so often to define the status of Suffrage in the various States where it exists that we have prepared the following statement for our readers:

In eleven States of the United States women vote on exactly the same terms as men and for all officials, Municipal, State and National, as men.

In one State, Illinois, women have partial suffrage. That is they have Municipal, County and Presidential Suffrage. They cannot vote for Congressional delegates or for State officials, nor for all County officials. The Suffrage in Illinois is unique among the States.

The Suffragists unable to get a sufficient number of petitioners to secure the submission of a Constitutional Amendment to the people, found that these certain offices, Municipal and County, which were not specifically named in the Constitution, but which had been created by an Act of the Legislature, came under the Statutory law and not the Constitutional law. An amendment to the Constitutional law extending the franchise could be made only by a vote of the electorate, but on the theory that the Legislature could extend the suffrage for all measures and offices created under the Statutory law, the Suffragists prepared a bill granting suffrage to women for statutory offices. The bill passed the Legislature and was signed by the Governor. It was finally carried to the Supreme Court for decision as to its constitutionality, and by a vote of 4 to 3 the Supreme Court decided that the bill was Constitutional. Of the three judges who voted adversely one was the Chief Justice.

The same bill has been agitated in various states, but in none but Illinois has it been carried.

Since States differ as to their Constitutionality and Statutory laws, a decision of the Supreme Court in each State would be necessary. In many of the States such a bill as that of Illinois would be unconstitutional.

In 21 States not Suffrage States there exists some form of Suffrage for women granted by the Legislature. Either Municipal, taxation or bond and school Suffrage. Illinois is the only State where in addition women have Presidential, County and Municipal Suffrage.

"Tax Every Man \$2 for Each Woman's Vote"

(Editorial in Newark News, Feb. 16.)

A PROPOSITION to tax every man fifty cents a year, to provide for the pensioning of mothers, is now before the Pennsylvania Legislature and approved by the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations. It is estimated that there are 2,328,694 men over twenty-one years old in the Keystone State, and this proposed tax would aggregate \$1,164,347. The last Pennsylvania Legislature (1913) appropriated \$200,000 for mothers' pensions.

The Pennsylvania bill has for its object the same relief that is accomplished by the widows' pension act passed in 1913 by the New Jersey Legislature and now in operation in this State. But it provides for a direct State tax, and such a tax is difficult to collect here, as witness the poll tax. It is not for mothers generally, but for such as are struggling to hold their families together.

Possibly neither New Jersey nor Pennsylvania appreciates the fact that they will both vote, this year, on the proposition to tax every man about \$2 a head for the sake of the women. It isn't put in just that way, but if the proposed equal suffrage amendment is adopted it will practically double the number of votes at each regular election, and each ballot now costs from \$1.75 to \$2. Twice as many votes will mean twice as many polling place, twice as many election officers and practically twice the expense—which the men will pay.

And since this phase of the matter is in hand, it may be pertinent to ask why the men must vote on woman suffrage before the women vote on it? So far as any actual expression of sentiment is concerned, nobody knows whether a majority of New Jersey's women want the ballot or not. Why not let them all speak for themselves? An experimental vote might throw a fierce white light on the whole question in this State.

And while questions are thus arising, over the Pennsylvania proposition to tax the men to pension the mothers, it may be asked if it is at all probable that the dear women, when given the right to vote, would tax themselves to support indigent widowers or struggling fathers? Wandering around here and there through this equal suffrage and equal taxation business, there are many questions that can't be settled right off the reel.

"VOTES CAN RIGHT NO WRONG" SAYS SUFFRAGE LEADER

"VOTES can right no wrong and solve no problem until a way has been thought out by means of which these things can be accomplished."

Here is Anti-Suffrage argument from the pen of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, a leader of the New York movement to enfranchise women.

"With poverty, congestion, low wages, drink, degeneracy combining to produce a social condition, there is no human being who has yet come forward in any land with a theory which can present an immediate solution," continues the suffrage exponent of "anti" persuasion.

Mrs. Catt makes these comments in a recent issue of "The Woman Voter," the official organ of the Woman Suffrage Party of New York City, in attempting to answer the question, "Why does a woman call the condition of labor 'hopeless' where women vote?"

It was among a series of questions propounded in a recent issue of *THE WOMAN'S PROTEST*, published by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and it referred to the testimony of Mrs. Katherine P. Edson, a member of the California Industrial Workers' Welfare Commission, under examination by the Federal Industrial Relations Commission, at Los Angeles, September 10, 1914.

"No doubt a large part of our social trouble, such as the children in the street, is due to men working for an inadequate wage and women being forced to go out and work," testified Mrs. Edson. "It seems to me a hopeless situation. My opinion is that there are more women working outside their homes here than there should be. Some large drygoods stores, I understand, are contemplating refusing to employ married women because of the numerous complaints from unmarried women workers."

We must thank Mrs. Catt for her frank answer. It is encouraging to learn that at least one Suffragist admits that the vote does not solve these problems. Mrs. Catt would do well to impress her views on suffrage soap-box orators and agitators advocating "votes for women" as the panacea for all social and political ills.

There is another admission by Mrs. Catt in the same issue of *The Woman Voter*, in which she says: "In the great wet and dry campaigns, as in all others, the suffrage army has taken no sides." But why doesn't the suffrage "army" take sides against liquor since Mrs. Catt names "drink" as one of the five combinations

producing "a social condition" which her cohorts would pretend to remedy? The answer is because Mrs. Catt and other women suffragists who have studied statistics know full well that the liquor traffic has best been controlled and prohibition first established in States where only men vote, and that only now, after all these years in woman suffrage States, is an attempt being made to "follow suit." If Mrs. Catt will study other legislation, she will discover that leading male suffrage States have been the first to "right wrongs" and "solve problems" when "a way has been thought out by means of which these things can be accomplished."

Let its advocates first prove that woman suffrage has been a benefit, and that it can solve social and industrial problems better and more quickly than male suffrage, and our "army" will join the votes-for-women "skirmishers."

One Brave Boast and Five Cold Facts

(From the Buffalo Inquirer, Feb. 27, 1915)

IF there are among us men folks who are rasped by the insistence of the women folks that they would run things better if they had the ballot, let them be too chivalrous to fire back the following facts:

1. The State with the most savage conflicts between capital and labor is Colorado—woman suffrage since 1893.

2. The State in which it is alleged that polygamy still survives is Utah—woman suffrage since 1896.

3. The State which is the greatest menace to international peace is California—woman suffrage since 1911.

4. The State which has just re-established itself as the country's divorce colony is Nevada—which voted for woman suffrage in 1914.

5. The remaining woman suffrage States are Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon and Montana, not one of which has made the nation proud that it is on the country's map.

[The State of Domestic Service, under control of women only—disorganized to the point of anarchy.—Editor "Protest."]

Why should man fear that woman suffrage will compel him to be too good to be happy?

Trade Union Working Women Not For Suffrage

A MOST remarkable substantiation of the platform of the Wage-Earners' Anti-Suffrage League was given by the leaders of the Woman's Trade Union League of New York recently. Despite the fact that both the women quoted are Suffragists and that the Trade Union League has endorsed woman suffrage, they state that the working woman is not interested in suffrage. The interview quoted appeared in a pro-suffrage newspaper, the *New York Tribune*, of March 3d.

Miss Melinda Scott, the president of the Trade Unionists, says, in part: "Women have shorter hours now and what with the strength of a union organization back of them they have been able to ask for better wages and get them. So the woman who thinks enough about her industrial position to organize has learned to look to her union for better economic conditions and not to the State. Most organized women workers are quite sure that their union is nearer to them and to their pay envelope than suffrage could be. . . . We have been sold out so often, you know, that we are just a bit cautious and skeptical about the things people propose to us. We can't see that it will mean all that the Suffragists promise."

Miss Helen Marot, formerly executive secretary of the Trade Union League, and a member of Local 12,646, declared: "Working women feel keenly the need of direct action. This talk of suffrage is too far away for them. Trade union girls are quite sure that politics is not their channel and that it will not affect their economic condition. They look to their unions to obtain the legislative action they want. . . . It is a mistake to tell working women that they will receive all sorts of benefits when women get the ballot. They know perfectly well it is not so, that the vote can't give them what they want. They ask, logically enough, 'What about the other States where women vote? Are the working women any better off than we are? And what about the men? They have had suffrage and what good has it done them? And they give their spare time to strengthening their union organization, for in it lies their hope.'"

(Newark Evening News.)

Desire for a "mild suffrage speaker" to address the members of the Vailsburgh Home and School Association was expressed at the monthly session of the executive board of that organization, held in the office of the Lincoln school.

At the last report no such speaker had been found among the Suffragists.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

ALABAMA

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 27.—Governor Henderson to-day signed the child labor bill, said to be the most stringent measure for protection of working children that has ever been passed by a Legislature in any State.

The bill prohibits the employment of children under 14 years in any gainful occupation after October 1, 1916. Employment of children under 13 years is prohibited, effective to-day.

CONNECTICUT

THERE was a hearing before the Legislature March 4th. Miss Price, Miss Dorman and Miss Burnell spoke. The membership at present is over 14,000. House-to-house canvassing has been very successful.

Personal attacks have been made by the Suffragists on Mrs. Markham and Mrs. Williams. Forty recall cards have been received by the Association of women who were Suffragists and have become Anti-Suffragists.

MASSACHUSETTS

THIRTY meetings were held during February in Massachusetts and speakers also sent to Concord, N. H., and to Vermont.

Four hundred new members have been added to our lists.

The shops at Brockton the second week of February was quite successful, several meetings were held in the evenings and much interest aroused.

The Sharon Branch is conducting an anti-suffrage shop in Sharon which will be open until March 1st.

New branches have been established at Monson and Hudson, bringing the number up to 108. Quincy and Cohasset Branches have reorganized.

Fall River Branch gave a luncheon at which there were more than 100 guests; great enthusiasm in anti-suffrage work was aroused and many new names added to the membership list.

Material has been furnished from headquarters for 56 debates during February.

14,580 pieces of literature have been sent out from headquarters during the month of February.

The Boston Branch have planned a Fashion Fete to be given at the Toy Theater on March 16th for the benefit of the Branch. Nearly 200 patronesses have con-

sented to serve and the demand for tickets has been most encouraging.

MINNESOTA

ATENTATIVE organization began in this State in October, 1913. In May, 1914, the St. Paul and Minneapolis Associations were formed. In July, 1914, the Minneapolis Association opened headquarters and in October, 1914, the State Association was reorganized because the Legislature meets in January. It is biennial and sits for 90 days. All summer the papers had been announcing that a suffrage amendment would be presented. The State Association began to work at once with a platform non-militant in thought and action, stating that we believe in women in every act of life except the political. In the three branches there are over 7,400 members and over 3,000 are working women. On the first of January the St. Paul Association opened headquarters.

With the publicity work there has been difficulty. The Press Association of the State has declared for suffrage. But we now have 30 papers that will take anti-suffrage news. During January every week we sent anti-suffrage material to every newspaper in the State. We have not yet appealed to the men for financial assistance. During the last eight months \$3,000 were raised for current expenses and money has been raised by personal appeals.

For the Red Cross work our Association raised \$1,811 at an entertainment for which Mrs. Pennington paid the expenses.

We have developed local speakers and have noon-day meetings for the working girls three days a week. We have published three appeals to our Legislature and have issued free leaflets.

As the Suffragists were publicly claiming the endorsement and co-operation of the Charities and Corrections, The National Consumers' League and the Ladies of the Maccabees, we wrote to these organizations and have in our files letters denying endorsement or co-operation with the suffrage movement. We also published this information.

NEW JERSEY

THE monthly meeting of the Board of New Jersey Association was held at the home of Mrs. Henry M. Darcy in Newark, and in the absence of Mrs. Jamieson, Mrs. John R. Emery, of Morristown, presided. Mrs. Dodge was invited to speak and gave a very interesting and instructive talk.

One of the important issues of our Board meeting was the fact that the Suffragists have offered prizes to the pupils of the various high schools throughout the State for the best essays on woman suffrage, to which we are very much opposed. Mrs. Rhodie, of South Orange, was empowered to take up the matter with the Assistant Commissioner of Education.

Paterson gave a fine report of their work interest of the Red Cross. Eight thousand garments were sent for the Belgians and several pounds of wool yarn, 500 barrels of flour, 136 boxes of food each containing enough to keep four adults for two weeks. The total amount of money raised was \$4,800 and a conservative estimate of value of the clothing sent is \$3,200.

Meetings in Plainfield were reported and a debate was held at which Miss Price and Hon. John A. Matthews spoke. Headquarters have been opened in the main street of Montclair. Much press work was done in connection with the Legislative Hearing and an anti-suffrage cartoon was placed on the desk of every Assemblyman and Senator. Headquarters have been opened at Montclair and much enthusiasm and interest has been aroused. Many signatures are being secured and roses, buttons and literature sold.

NORTH DAKOTA

THE North Dakota Senate, by a vote of 26 to 22, on February 13, recalled from the House the equal suffrage bill recently passed by the upper body. As a motion attached when the bill passed the Senate makes necessary a two-thirds majority vote to repass the measure, it is generally believed it will not be reconsidered this season.

The bill passed both houses two years ago, and if favorably acted on at this session would be submitted to the people two years hence.

PENNSYLVANIA

THE Anti-Suffragists will organize every ward in the city and every legislative district in the State to emphasize woman's opposition to her own enfranchisement, if the Senate passes the proposition to submit "votes for women" to a decision at the polls. This announcement was made recently by Miss Florence R. Hall, of Bryn Mawr, chairman of the Public Interest Committee of the Pennsylvania Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, at a meeting at the headquarters, 261 S. 15th Street.

Several weeks ago leaders in the anti-suffrage movement announced that they would vigorously combat the Suffragists with counter organizations in the legislative districts, but it was later decided not

to bother the women until absolutely necessary.

"We have what the naval men would call 'nucleus crews' already recruited throughout the State," said Miss Hall, "and at the call to arms to save the Ship of State from Feminism, we will be able to place in the 'war zone' a patrol of patriotic women amply able to protect womanhood from the submarines of suffragism. The battle about the ballot for women has lasted sixty-five years, but like the deadlocked armies from the Channel to the Alps and from the Baltic to the Balkans, no decisive advantage has yet been won. Before the last election, the Suffragists spoke of us as in a political position similar to 'poor little Belgium,' but they have lately come to realize that 1915 will be their Waterloo, and that the forces of feminism, unrest, and radical experiment will be routed in the East. We have more requests for literature, special articles, speakers, etc., than we can supply. Many of them are from outside of the State, and therefore, we are planning to print and issue a weekly journal, where we will arrange the latest Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage arguments in the 'deadly parallel.' The Suffragists say the antis must devote as much time to their campaign as if they were voters," was suggested.

"It is perfectly true," replied Mrs. Simeon H. Guilford, a member of the executive board. "But we are willing to go into one campaign against the vote, in order to avoid the many that would follow with the vote. Besides, we are always trying to get along with as little, instead of as much organization as possible. For instance, I have the names of over 500 women in one place who would form an anti-suffrage branch tomorrow, if it were necessary. The Suffragists have a dozen women formed into a Suffrage association in the same locality, but we will not worry the women with the question of forming an active branch until we have to. There are many Anti-Suffragists who are contributing to our cause who will not go into even suffrage and anti-suffrage politics. Some of the supporters of anti-suffrage activity are women of national reputation who are unwilling to expose themselves to the sort of fighting the feminists glory in. And if these women, and their husbands, feel that they must protect their names against the feminist politicians now, how much more should they be protected against partisan politics, with all it means of strife and turmoil. If you notice the recent issue of a so-called comic weekly issued by the Suffragists, you'll find the bulk of it made up of contemptible cartoon and perverted paragraphs against the 'antis.' With women in politics, this sort of thing would grow to insulting propor-

tions, men would see their wives, mothers and daughters, as well as themselves, brought into ridiculous relief with the Republican elephant or the Democratic mule, on the front pages of our papers. Do we want to expose American womanhood to this humiliation?"

RHODE ISLAND

THE Governor has declared himself in favor of woman suffrage, presumably to try to be on the right side, because his party had put a plank in their platform, but his party has been badly defeated.

The Anti-Suffragists went to the State House on Lincoln's Birthday and had a pink rose placed on the desk of each member, with the compliments of the Rhode Island Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. It is expected that the bill will not be reported out of committee. The Association has now 4,000 members. A woman lawyer has compiled the laws of Rhode Island in regard to women and children.

SOUTH DAKOTA

A BILL granting to women of South Dakota the privilege of voting on municipal issues and for State and county officers not named in the Constitution as "Constitutional officers," was defeated on February 16. The Senate rejected the measure by 24 to 18, although it had recently passed the House. A graphic description of events preceding the defeat comes to THE PROTEST from the South Dakota Auxiliary.

"The Suffragists were on hand at the opening of the session, took possession of one of the committee rooms at a convenient location in the Capitol building, from which no man concerned had 'nerve' enough to oust them, and have simply lived there from morning to night, maintaining the most brazen, tiresome and open lobby ever heard of, without molestation except as we on the other side have called attention to them.

"Finding that the Prohibitionists and others who wanted to get some constitutional amendments submitted would not help them to get a bill for one for suffrage passed, they compromised on a municipal suffrage bill, similar to that passed in Illinois. It was introduced, or rather two similar bills were at the same time, one in the House and the other in the Senate. They were referred to the elections committees, and then we asked for a hearing, which was given us.

"We succeeded in splitting the Senate Committee over their report, and they

finally reported the bill without recommendation, although the majority were against it. The House Committee of Seven had but one for the bill, but to please him they also reported without recommendation.

"The bill carried an 'emergency clause' which would require a two-thirds vote, and if passed would put it into effect at once and prevent its being referended. They could not get the two-thirds, so finally were compelled to take off the emergency clause and passed it with a vote of 59 to 42. We are assured that it will not pass the Senate, but they are using every means known, personal pressure, etc., to turn the votes they need, so that we will not be too sure. The best attorneys assure us that the bill is absolutely in conflict with our Constitution, and will be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court without doubt, but if not it will be referended."

Exact Situation of Suffrage Bills

THE exact situation of the suffrage bills in different States is interesting and important. The following paragraphs reveal the recent action by the Legislatures:

DELAWARE.—Proposed bill for full suffrage defeated overwhelmingly in both Senate and House.

INDIANA.—Bill for limited suffrage passed in Senate is still before the House.

IOWA.—Bill for submitting full suffrage to the voters in 1916 passed by the Legislature for the second time, authorizing submission.

MAINE.—Full suffrage bill still pending.

MINNESOTA.—Full suffrage bill defeated in Senate by 34 to 33.

NEBRASKA.—Municipal suffrage defeated in the House.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Limited suffrage bill still pending in the Legislature.

SOUTH DAKOTA.—Bill for limited suffrage defeated; full suffrage bill still pending.

TENNESSEE.—Full suffrage bill passed one Legislature. If it passes another, question goes to the voters in 1916.

TEXAS.—Full suffrage bill defeated in House.

VERMONT.—Legislature has just defeated municipal suffrage for women by a vote of 129 to 100. A motion to reconsider was defeated by a vote of 186 to 32.

WEST VIRGINIA.—Full suffrage bill passed by Legislature. Question goes to the voters in 1916.

DIRECTIONS FOR RED-CROSS SHIPMENTS

THE American Red Cross and the American Belgian Relief Committee have both stated that although they do not want donations of garments, they will receive them and send them through the regular channels for distribution, as far as possible.

To save time and facilitate immediate distribution we suggest that garments collected by our Anti-Suffrage Organizations be sent directly to the American Distributing Service (A. D. S.) in Paris, which is now being used by all organizations. Our office, 37 West 39th Street, New York City, will be glad to receive and pack any small collections.

The French Line will give free transportation to garments packed in boxes four feet long by two feet by two feet. Nothing larger will be given free transportation. The cases should be addressed to the

AMERICAN RELIEF CLEARING HOUSE

5, Rue Francois-Ier, Paris, France

A R
C H

"Secour Americans"

A.D.S.

These boxes are to be sent in care of the Baggage Master, Compagnie Generale, Transatlantique, Pier 57, North River, N. Y. City. The invoice should be sent to the

baggage master at this same address.

When donations are sent kindly make a report to the National Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

The following is the list of garments specially requested:

Dark flannel negligee shirts (with only band at the neck), flannel undervests, flannel underdrawers, towels, dark handkerchiefs, dark pajamas, pillow cases, sheets, flannel belts, hospital shirts (opened in the back with pocket on side of front, as they are given to convalescent patients), rubber sheeting, rubber gloves, gloves, blankets, room slippers, bath robes.

In addition to the articles mentioned for the American Distributing Service, surgical dressings are requested for the hospitals. As the need for warm knitted garments will soon cease, we are glad to circulate the following appeal:

SURGICAL DRESSINGS NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman, Mrs. Mary Hatch Willard

41 West 38th St., N. Y. City

The Surgical Dressings National Committee is prepared to receive and ship these dressings. This committee asks for no contributions of money, but for material for the dressings which are made of old cotton and linen, as well as of gauze and new material.

By communicating with Mrs. Mary Hatch Willard, 41 West 38th Street, samples of dressings will be forwarded and detailed instructions given.

Bad Colorado Laws

Anti-Suffragists have criticized the bad Colorado laws for children so severely that a commission has at last been appointed to draft better laws—another instance of what women can do without the vote! These bad laws allow boys of any age and girls of ten to carry on street trades. The report of the child labor committee for November, 1913, says: "It is scarcely more perilous for girls than it is for boys to sell papers, peddle gum, guide beggars, black shoes and tend stands or engage in any other form of street trading. Not only do children who work thus out of school hours gradually fall behind in their studies and reach a limit of mental capacity lower than the promise of earlier years, but physically and morally they suffer positive harm." These bad laws were in existence after women had voted 19 years, and it is amazing to find them constantly extolled by Suffragists, who declare that Colorado has the sanest and most progressive children's law on the statute books of any State!

The Moral of Hy. Gill

The necessity felt by Suffragists of defending everything which is done in suffrage States leads them into most unfortunate positions. The recent scandals in Seattle, where women vote, have again brought its notorious Mayor Hy. Gill into prominence. He was re-elected last spring by a big majority, carrying every ward but one, including the residence precincts, although he had been in his earlier administration the open and avowed champion of the saloon and the disorderly house. He insisted that they were necessary to the prosperity of Seattle. He had two huge municipal brothels built on a public street. His chief of police was convicted of collecting thousands from the women of the underworld and was sent to the penitentiary. In spite of this record, the Suffragists of New York and Massachusetts filled columns in defense of his reelection. And now these same women are employing Rose Livingston, the so-called "ex-white slave" to tell audiences in Massachusetts that the woman's vote will do away with the social evil!

Good Advertising?

In Massachusetts recently an "Anti" protested against a suffrage sign declaring that child labor would never be abolished until women got the vote. "Don't you know that Massachusetts has the best child labor laws in the country?" she asks the Suffragists. "Yes, but it's good advertising, isn't it?" they replied.

"A Woman Is a Parasite— And Will Be Till She Votes"

By FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ

She rises in the early morn, ere yet the night is done,
To start the many duties never named by human tongue;
So many, many kinds there are no rule was ever planned
By which could be accomplished what a woman does by hand.
No wheels have been invented, no electric power conceived
To do the work of woman well that she may be relieved.
No matter though the heart grow faint, the limbs seem out of joint,
Each day demands its toll of strength—e'en to the breaking point.
There's baby lives to usher forth and baby mouths to feed,
And baby minds to educate and baby woes to heed.
Then, when the throbbing day is done with all its toil and tax,
When others rest at set of sun, does mother, too, relax?
Not she, for 'tis a well-known fact, man works from sun to sun,
But woman's many kinds of tasks are never wholly done.
An income which is far too small each pressing need to fit,
With mother-love as lubricant and stretched by mother-wit.
Both ends are made to meet with ease to every one's surprise,
But what of her who sacrificed and managed mother-wise?
The labor of the world is hers—she rears and educates;
With master hand she carves our lives, with love she arbitrates.
Nine-tenths of life's dull toil is hers, yet some one glibly quotes:
"A woman is a parasite and will be till she votes."

NOTES AND COMMENT

Would you think, after all that militancy, that English women have all the ballots that men have, except for Members of Parliament? And, as a Member of the House of Lords pointed out, measures that directly affect the social life of the people do not come before that body for months at a time, while the local governments, in which women have "equal" representation, are the places where the municipal regulations—clean streets, clean milk and all the rest of it that Suffragists pretend to want—are provided for. But the Pankhursts do not want to use what they have, but to get control of the man's part of government—military affairs, foreign relations and diplomacy. And wouldn't the Suffragists "shine" now at the head of Britain's army and navy, fighting against men for the life of their land?

"There is nothing in the Constitution," says a Suffragist, "to warrant the assumption that the family rather than the individual is the social unit." Rather true—and as an atheist once declared, "there is nothing in the Constitution that makes this a Christian country." Some persons must have expected our forefathers to involve every tradition and custom of the country in the original charter—just as some persons yet imagine that you can correct every evil by passing a law against it.

"Women sat in the English Parliament three hundred years ago," declared Miss Jane Addams, recently. Which is another point that the Suffragists forget when they assure you that no country that has ever adopted "votes for women" ever mended its ways. The Boers, too, had equal suffrage, but, Miss Addams assures us, their wives were too "ladylike" to use the franchise at all. We always did think that the Holland women and their descendants are rather sensible in specializing in house-keeping and feminine pursuits. Specialists are always leaders.

Police Judge Thomas P. White, of Los Angeles, is trying an experiment in his court that is of interest to women, says *The Suffragist*. He is allowing a woman to preside over all cases where women are tried, and will ultimately establish a woman's court if he secures the sanction of the State Legislature. Her assistance is, of course, ex-officio, but we are informed by the press that she will advise Judge White what decision is proper in these cases until a bill is passed creating the position.

George Creel, formerly police commissioner of Denver, has recently made a violent attack on one of the editors of the *Survey*, accusing him among other things of being "cunning and dishonest." The *New Republic* of February 20th remarks: "It is one of the worst cases of brutal stupidity that muckraking has produced, and there is no excuse for Mr. Creel but to state the plain fact that he is a reckless and incompetent person who has at last revealed the quality of his mind. He has shown himself incapable of judging evidence and determined to make a noise no matter what canons of truthfulness he violates." Mr. Creel is the product of politics in a woman suffrage State, which, according to Judge Lindsey, has made a science of corrupting its public men. He is a frequent speaker at suffrage meetings.

A Suffragist recently said:

"Women's presence at the polls would elevate conditions. History shows that our greatest men had a great mother or a great wife, and men who have achieved reputations for good judgment in large business matters, first sneaked home at night and asked their wives how to do it."

This may be the usual suffrage hyperbole. But there is just enough truth in it to pass with the crowd as good suffrage argument. The only trouble with it is that it is anti-suffrage argument. It needs no demonstration to convince anyone of a mother's influence, and the last election when woman suffrage was defeated, overwhelmingly in every State where the married men were in the majority demonstrated that the men asked their wives how they should vote on that question.

Some bright-eyed and obliging correspondent elevated his eyebrows to get the figures for the 1914 instead of the 1915 Chicago election, and heralded as a fact that 77 per cent. of the registered women voted.

"And the worst is yet to come"—the "enslaved" women of Kansas, who were freed from the terrible tyranny of "man-made laws" in 1913, are to be forbidden to use perfumes, powders, earrings, false hair and other feminine articles. In the next step towards the artificial attempt to make women like men, a law should be passed making it a crime for women to wear corsets or skirts. Then, a final provision making it compulsory for all Suffragists to clip their hair short will do as much as it is possible through legislation to "eliminate the distinctions of sex."

New Jersey gave full suffrage to women July 2, 1776; two days before the Declaration of Independence. None used it until 1790. In 1797 it was limited to single women with a property qualification. It was abolished altogether in 1807 by the inclusion of the word "male" in the Constitution, growing directly out of the various election frauds in which women had participated, and the indifference on the part of women to use the ballot. So when the Suffragist tells you about "when women get the vote," ask her about "why women lost it, after thirty-one years' trial in New Jersey."

(From *The Landmark, White River Jct., Vt., Dec. 24, 1914*)

"What shall this war mean to women? What will it mean when the war is over and thousands of women are forced to become day-laborers to support their little children? What will it mean to those children who will never have the guidance of a father?" queries the Rev. Anna Shaw.

This is a hard problem, to be sure, but it may mean putting into practice those feminine doctrines of the economic independence of women and a mother's entire right and responsibility for her children so glowingly set forth in a pamphlet called "Bond Women" which has been printed, circulated and advertised by the National Woman Suffrage Association, of which the Rev. Anna Shaw is president. She has been teaching these doctrines for months past from the lecture platform and it would be inconsistent to go back on it now.

A Suffragist speaker is never without an answer to any argument. We quote from the *Newark Evening News* of February 17:

"Answering one of the statements made by a man that when women get the vote they also will occupy the positions now held by the men and thereby keep even a greater number of men out of employment than there are now, Mrs. R. M. Laird explained that when women get the vote they will demand equal pay for equal work. Employers, she said, who then will be unable to hire woman and child labor at little cost, will give preference to the men and thus will tend to keep more women in the home and more men in industry. She added that the Suffragists do not claim that equal suffrage will bring about the millennium."

Just how the vote will enable a woman to secure "equal pay" was not explained. We never heard of a man securing a higher wage through his ballot.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary
at the office of the Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York
City.

Complete set, 50 cts.

Single copies, 5 cts.

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PAMPHLETS

NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Should We Ask for the Suffrage? *Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer*
Woman's Relation to Government *Mrs. Wm. F. Scott*
New Zealand and Australia, etc.
The Blank Cartridge Ballot *Rossiter Johnson*
Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894)

Taxation and Suffrage *Hon. Elihu Root*
Woman and the Law *Frederick Dwight*
First Legislative Address *Francis M. Scott*
Woman Suffrage *Mrs. Francis M. Scott*
Suffragists Desert Philanthropy, etc. *Carl Schurz*
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law
Dodgers

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Woman Suffrage Opposed to Woman's Rights

The Militant and the Child *Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge*
Woman's Rights vs. Woman Suffrage *Mrs. F. M. Scott*
Equality of Suffrage Means the Debasement, etc. *Mrs. A. J. George*

Woman Suffrage and Child Labor Legislation *John R. Dos Passos*
Wage-Earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*
The Relation of the Sexes to Government *Minnie Bronson*
A Talk to Women on the Suffrage Question *Prof. Edward Cope*

Should Women Vote? *Miss Emily P. Bissell*
An Open Letter to Clergymen *Joseph Gilpin Pyle*
Dodgers—Statistics

Silk Pins.....10c. each Ribbon.....10c. and 15c. a yard
Celluloid Buttons.....5c. Pennants.....15c. and 25c.

NEW YORK STATE MEN'S ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO POLITICAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN

27 William Street Room 1823 New York City

Brief before Rules Committee, Washington, D. C., Dec. 4, 1913

Questionnaire *Everett P. Wheeler*Women and The Vote *Everett P. Wheeler*Feminist Principle Biologically Unsound *Prof. William I. Sedgwick*

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

Woman Adrift (\$1.50)

Harold Owen

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